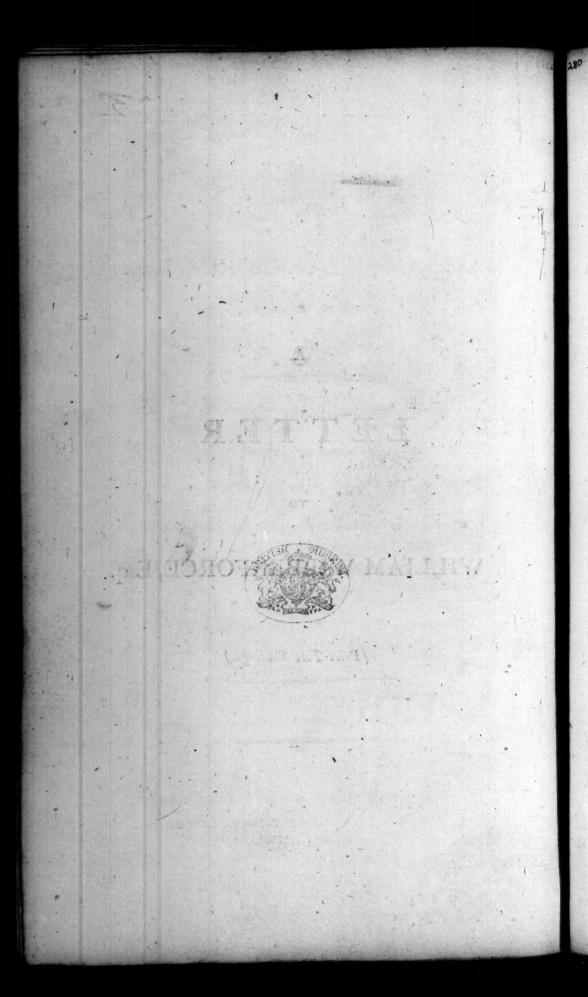
A

LETTER

TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq.

(Price Two Shillings.)



LETTER

TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq.

ON THE SUBJECT

OF HIS LATE PUBLICATION.

By GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A. LATE FELLOW OF JESUS-COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Beware of false prophets!—Ye shall know them by their fruits.

JBSUS.

Ye blind guides! which strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel. IDEM.

—— Nefas illic fetum jugulare capellæ;
Carnibus humanis vefci licet.—In mare nemo
Hunc abicit, fævå dignum veråque Charybdi?—
Tam vacui capitis populum Phæaca putavit?

JUVENAL.

THE SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND CORRECTED.

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WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

SIR!

THE privilege, which you have claimed and employed, of addressing "the higher " and middle classes of this country" on the religious system " of professed Christians, contrasted with real Christianity," cannot be grudged with confishency, in application to yourself, from one, according to the vulgar acceptation of those words, neither in the high nor middle class, but in the very lowest order of the community, in which we live. Your attention to religious subjects, in the midst of a corrupt and faithless generation, is regarded with more honour and approbation by none of your warmest friends than by your opponent: nor, I believe, have your thoughts, fince we were contemporaries once

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at Cambridge, and before that period, been more intenfely occupied in the same speculations and purfuits, than mine. clusions, however, from these diligent refearches prove not only different, but in many points totally contradictory: yet, (for I am disposed to pay no futile compliments and to facrifice no felf-applause, at the expence of conviction and fincerity, though ready to concede in your favour all that can possibly be true) I presume your purposes and affections to have been equally pure, equally zealous, and equally dispassionate, with my Perhaps, in consequence of your elaown. borate publication, which, from the peculiar situation and character of it's author, is likely to engage a confiderable portion of popular attention, it may be a circumstance not altogether unimportant to some of our fellowcitizens, nor absolutely unworthy of your own regard, to contemplate some prominent particulars of our disagreement, and the grounds on which we differ.

But, Sir! my leading motive to this public and free address had it's origin in that countenance, which the favourable opinion of your your character, very generally entertained, as a fincere and pious Christian, has reflected on the political conduct of those statesmen, whose views you have promoted with eagerness and constancy; and whose interests you have interwoven with your own. It becomes on this account, I am perfuaded, a confideration of no mean concernment to Englishmen at large to be supplied with some measure of determination, whether one, thus fanctified in the estimation of his countrymen, - thus assuming the dignified office of a religious cenfor in fociety, - be indeed entitled to this large tribute of admiration, and illuminated with that knowledge of his fubject, which has a claim to enfure his precepts a reverend acceptance with his disciples. That reasonable postulatum too, I apprehend, is no less pertinent to the subject of Christianity, than to topics of philology and tafte; founded on a requisite alliance between magisterial animadversion and personal accomplishment;

> Let fuch teach others, who themselves excell; And censure freely, who have written well.

It was my primary intention to examine your publication in detail; but this object I B 2 foon

foon abandoned, as tedious, from the prolixity of your effusions; as unprofitable, from their wildness; as impracticable, from their indistinction. Your fundamental principles are, in my judgement, so effentially erroneous, your whole conception of the Gospel so absolutely incompatible with the undifputed conduct and with the unequivocal dictates of CHRIST himfelf, as to render fuch a specific discussion of your fentiments an undertaking of inextricable and hopeless perplexity. Every avenue to conviction, by which fuch arguments, as have been deemed effectual with rational enquirers, might be expected to approach, is obstructed by fantastical prepossessions, by vifionary feelings, by an experimental perception of truth, not explicable on the known elements of vulgar reasoning, and only intelligible to the happy illuminated devotee;

> Φριαντα συνετοισιν' ες ΄ Δε το παν, έρμηνεων Κατιζει—.

Your ear alone the mystic sounds can gain: Plebeians listen still, and still, in vain.

Among this vulgar berd of unenlightened fluggish catechumens I profess my name also.

—Suffer us, therefore, in the prosecution of this

this subject, to adopt a method of argumentation better suited to our scantier knowledge and our gross conceptions: and, if we prove at once mistaken and presumptuous, let your superior illuminations, with charitable interposition, repress our arrogance, and consute our errors.

- I. My first object, then, shall be an attempt to delineate some striking features of genuine Christianity, according to my notion of that pure, sublime, and simple institution: not by a deduction from imaginary theories, but from indisputable premises; namely,
- i. The conduct and character of our Saviour himself: and,
 - 2. From his precepts,

At this equitable arbitration, yourself, I trust, will feel no inclination to demur.

II. I shall take the liberty of bringing the question home to your own "life and bo"fom." I shall venture to examine your public conduct in the crucible of these criterions:

well

well aware at the same time, from the multiplicity and critical nature of the topics, which so comprehensive an excursion will involve, of the delicacy and danger of my project from the bassled malignity of a despairing and flagitious faction; who have riveted their power against the public voice by the most extensive bribery, and malignant calumnies; who are prepared to hazard their own lives with the fortunes of royalty and the constitution in an attempt to maintain their stations by the anarchy of military despotism.

I. 1. I shall attempt a delineation of the fincere Christian gospel by a few capital strokes from the practice of our Lord him-felf.

You will readily allow me, that his example is propounded in the scriptures as a model of imitation for all his followers. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me: (Mat. xi. 29.) Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: (Philipp. ii. 5.) Christ also suffered for us; leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: (I Pet. ii. 21.) He, that saith be abideth in him, ought himself also so to walk,

even as be walked: (1 John, ii. 6.) We conclude, then, from these and other explicit declarations, that, in the proportion of our approximation to the life of Christ, will our advances be towards the transcendental excellence of evangelical perfection. Indeed, one previous proposition, not applicable to himfelf, must be presumed with relation to his disciples, as the passport to life eternal: (John, xvii. 3.) That, in addition to a common belief of one true God, his brethren acknowledge himself also to be the anointed servant of Jehovah, (Acts, iv. 27.) the long-expected Meffiah of the Jews, (John, iv. 25, 26.) who died, and was buried, and rose again on the third day, (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.) that he might deliver us from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God: (Rom. viii. 21.) With this fingle exception only, the life of Christ must be considered as a complete exemplar for the zealous emulation of his votaries.

Now, a most comprehensive summary of our Lord's practical virtues is exhibited in one short, but emphatic, sentence of his apostle

vustave, the condition of the

apostle Peter; (Acts, x. 38.) Who went about;

If some of our modern fanatics have conceived accurately of gospel-truth, the epitome of our Saviour's excellence should have been circumfcribed by very different lines of character; by a copious display of comfortable illuminations, powerful conversions, secret influences, lookings unto God, or some equivalent impressions; provided only, that the things themselves were equally unintelligible and undefinable: the wild phantoms of despicable ignorance, and befotted superstition. No, Sir! the sublime representation of consummate excellence is depicted in full beauty, and in matchless proportion, by five words only of fimplicity and foberness: HE WENT ABOUT, DOING GOOD. The relief of human mifery in all it's varieties and complications of diftress, the reformation of the vicious, the instruction of the ignorant, the confirmation of the virtuous, the consolation of the meek, the encouragement of the docile, the generous and indignant reprobation of demure hypocrify with sharp untempered expression; thefe

these godlike purposes, as the sole means of personal happiness, by fulfilling the will of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God, (John, xx. 17.) through active benevolence to the workmanship of the Creator, was the grand rule of conduct to the Man of Nazareth; the fole occupation of his thoughts, the unceasing employment of his time, the devoted purpose of his life. Hear the divine declarations of this unequalled preceptor of mankind on the point before us. My meat is to do the will of him that fent me, and to finish his work: (John, iv. 34.) I was daily with you in the temple teaching: (Luke, xiv. 49.) To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth: (John, xviii. 37.) To him positive beneficence, and positive beneficence alone, invigorated and incited by pure principles of action, was the test of merit, and the genuine characteristic of Christian sanctity. Feelings, and visions, and experiences, and inexplicable grace, unaccompanied by fervices to men, and unauthenticated by fuch fervices, is a vile jargon, unknown to the Saviour of mankind,

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and unrecorded in the oracles of truth. Gospel abhors appearances without realities; it acknowledges no faith as a meritorious operation of the heart or intellect, but the faith exemplified and fubstantiated by the vitality of works. We are commanded to raise upon out faith a noble superstructure of virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godlinefs, brotherly kindness, charity; (2 Pet. i. 5-8.) -of all the personal and relative duties of humanity; if we wish to prove ourselves the followers and friends of Christ, (John, xv. 4.) not in word only, but in deed and in truth. The virtues and graces of the Gospel, like those of it's illustrious proclaimer, are activity and exercise; not torpid influences, and indolent fensations: no stagnant pool of devotional mummeries, of infipid mysticism, that cumbers the ground, and pollutes the atmosphere; but a falubrious expansion of living waters, dispersing health, animation, and fertility, through the earth; and springing up into everlasting life: (John, iv. 10. 14.)

2. But in the precepts of our Lord we shall find a more circumstantial configuration of the Christian character; and, if possible, scarcely

fearcely a less interesting and important picture, than in his life: a life, publicly displayed on the theatre of human action, but a mere particle of time.

Ostendunt terris hunc tantum sata, neque ultra

Esse sinunt. Nimium vobis Romana propago

Visa potens, Superi! propria hæc si dona suissent.

I. For the first instance of the moral institutions of the Gospel, Jesus hath there taught us the perfectibility of human nature, beyond any affignable limits of progressive virtue. This most sublime doctrine, which the unlearned arrogance of modern philosophy has usurped as it's own discovery, though it stood on record, as openly promulgated eighteen centuries ago by the carpenter's fon of Galilee, is laid down with unquestionable precision in the following comprehensive exhortation: Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect: (Matt. v. 48.) The fame conclusion is deducible from a parallel injunction of the apostle Paul, with equal clearness; an injunction, founded on our intellectual refemblance to the univerfal parent of our race. Be ye, therefore, followers of God, as dear children: (Eph. v. 1.)

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To this effect also will amount by reasonable inference that admonitory invitation of the writer to the Hebrews: Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection: (vi. 1.)

By these perspicuous positions of scriptural authority are decidedly confuted those frivolous and profligate maxims of some modern advocates for corruption in ecclefiaftical and political establishments, who endeavour to reconcile the credulous, the timid, the illiterate, and unreflecting, to their abject systems of conformity, upon this ignominious pretence; That the generality of mankind has always been, and always must continue, depraved and ignorant: that we, extravagant reformers! indulge a vain theory, when we expatiate on the practicability of a form of government and a general constitution of civil discipline, which shall meliorate, beyond all competition with our degraded condition at this moment, the moral and intellectual character of the species: which shall exalt, by gradual improvement, the denizens of this terrestrial habitation to a spiritualised state of purity little lower than the angels: (Heb. ii. 9.) Unless,

Unless, however, the signs of the time deceive me, these days of restitution and refreshment, (Acts, iii. 20, 21.) after so calamitous a period of supine ignorance, passive thralldom, and slavish debasement of all that is noble and generous in man, have commenced their glorious career with rapid strides, and are marching with an acceleration, which no tyranny can impede; from their goal in our vicinity, to the precincts of the universe.

Definit, ac toto furgit gens aurea mundo.

Our age of Iron wanes with quick decay; And man exulting hails his Golden day.

2. Peace and reconciliation, in their most extensive import, whether of man to God or to his fellow; universal and unbounded love, not circumscribed by incidental discriminations of country, colour, or opinion;—these endearing principles, of a vigorous renovating quality, are inculcated in every page of the Gospel, with affectionate solicitude and unwearied importunity. Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you; (John, xiv. 27.) was among the last admonitions of our most amiable master, (who spake as never man spake;

spake; John, vii. 46.) to his disconsolate disciples before that consummation of magnanimity and benevolence, his voluntary fufpension on the cross. But it were superfluous to investigate through the scriptures of the New Testament a multitude of texts in corroboration of this acknowledged doctrine of Christianity, whose herald is emphatically ftyled THE PRINCE OF PEACE: (Ifaiah, ix. 6.) All those precepts of mutual forbearance and foft affection, exhibited under fuch impreffive figures and animated phraseology from Matthew, v. 38-48. which exceed, in native fublimity and fimple elegance, the moral lessons of every other sage and inftructor, in whatever time or country, among the most accomplished nations of antiquity, beyond all pretentions of comparison; -those precepts, I fay, directly and explicitly infer PACIFIC PRINCIPLES, universal and unqualified, to be of the very essence of the Gospel, and an indispensable constitution of Chris-There is one passage, however, so eminently pertinent and energetic, of fuch awful denunciation against the MAN OF BLOOD, that I should deem myself inexcusable for withholding it from my readers on this occasion.

And behold, Simon Peter stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and smote the high-priest's servant, and cut off his ear. Then said Jesus unto Peter: Put up thy sword into it's place. The cup, which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it? All they, that take the sword, shall perish by the sword: (Matt. xxvi. 51, 52. John, xviii. 10, 11.) A truth, ripe for completion in our day.

But we shall have an opportunity of dwelling more particularly on this topic in the sequel; and I therefore only observe in passing, what delectable Christians peradventure they must be, and what a precious Christianity beyond all controversy they must profess, who can in any possible manner or degree, under any supposable circumstances whatsoever, co-operate with the military executions of war and murder on their species!

Αφρητως, αθεμιστοί, ανεστιοί, εστιν επινοί, "Ος πολεμε εραται. - Ηομεκ, II. ix. 63.

Curs'd is the man, and void of law and right,
Unworthy property, unworthy light,
Unfit for public rule, or private care,
That wretch, that monster, who delights
IN WAR:

Whofe

Whose lust is MURDER, and whose horrid joy,
To TEAR HIS COUNTRY, AND HIS KIND DESTROY,
Pope.

"Oh! my foul! come not thou into their "fecret: unto their affembly, mine honour! "be not thou united. Woe is me, that I "fojourn in Mefech; that I dwell in the "tents of Kedar! My foul hath long dwelt "with him that hateth peace. I am for "peace; but, when I speak, they are for "war:" (Gen. xlix. 6. Psalm, cxx. 5, 6.)

2. After a conscientious performance of our duty, after a life in the main conformable to the dictates of the Gospel, and habitually devoted to the will of God, the precepts of Christ authorise in his followers a degree of manly confidence in the goodness and promifes of their divine mafter; notwithstanding fome occasional violations of determined purpose; some transient deviations from a general rectitude of course. These irregularities are too frequent, alas! and too flagrant with the most circumspect among us in the present flagitious constitution of fociety, and amidst the enormous depravities of civil governments: under an untowardliness slod W

towardliness of circumstances, that leaves but a fimple possibility for the lowest orders of the people to emerge from the abject condition of beafts of burden; whilst their intellectual and moral capacities are neglected, debased, and prostituted, to the vile projects of their taskmasters, and their natural and religious privileges are trampled in the dust. In this view, eternal life is stipulated to us on a performance of the commandments, and a proportionate communication of our substance, after our ability, to the necessities of our poorer brethren: (Matt. xix. 16-22.) To do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk bumbly with our God, (Micah, vi. 8.) is all that is required of us by the Lord; is made a fure condition of his present favour and future recompence. Him. that cometh to me, says our Master himself, I will in no wife cast out: (John, vi. 37.) From these and a copious variety of other passages, which it were superfluous to collect, or enumerate, for readers conversant in the scriptures, to whom alone our appeal is made, this conclusion is abundantly deducible: That, though we are, indeed, in the scriptural expression, unprofitable servants, (Luke, xvii. 10.) of no supposeable benefit to our master; without D

without any previous and original claim on his bounty; indebted to his mercies for our life, our faculties, our opportunities, and all our enjoyments: still, as he was graciously pleased to receive us into covenant, and has engaged his protection and reward by certain stipulations proposed on his part and performed on our's; - fince, moreover, the very effence of his nature is fpontaneous beneficence, and a fatherly affection to the creatures of his hand; - fince we are perfuaded, on the fureft grounds of conviction, from the fuggestions of reason and from the documents of revelation, that he will not be extreme to mark what is done amis: upon these principles, I fay, men, whose conduct has been generally irreproachable and under the guidance of Gospel principles, may look up with affurance to their Maker, and expect remuneration at his hands. To form a conclusion different from this, is to change the benevolent Parent of mankind into a harsh exactor of his dues, reaping where he did not fow, and gathering where he had not scattered; (Matt. xxv. 24.) is to transform our divine mafter into an inconfistent and delusive mocker of expectation; invests him with qualities, which would render

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even a fellow-creature odious in our eyes; converts, in short, the whole evangelical system into a scheme of absurdity and contradiction, and belies our primary, unalterable, and clear perceptions of truth and justice. What are we to think, then, of that defpicable cant, that hypocritical humility, of fome modern religionists, which leads them to speak of themselves, after a life conscientiously devoted, according to their own views of scripture, to the will of God, as the most miserable and abandoned of sinners? Yet this, Sir! is the whining piety, the flavish superstition, of yourself and your adherents. But we have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but we have received the Spirit of adoption; whereby we cry, Abba, Father! (Rom. viii. 15.) There is indeed no fear (1 John, iv. 18.) in the true believer: he acquiesces, a calm expectant! in humble confidence, and with more than trembling hopes, knowing that what God has promifed, he will perform: in a holy composure of spirit, patient, tranquil, and refigned; not with the hesitating apprehensions of a servant, but with the chearful affurance of a son, and a jointbeir with Christ, (Gal. iv. 7. Rom. viii. 17.) D 2 that

that he shall finally lay hold on eternal life: (1 Tim. vi. 19.) Paul indeed styled himself the chief of finners: (1 Tim. i. 15.) And well he might. Confider the case attentively. He had perfecuted, bound, and imprisoned, with blind zeal and unrelenting rancour, his fellow-countrymen, for a mere difference of opinion; for presuming to employ the imprescriptible privilege of rationality in judging and acting for themselves: nay, more; he had glutted his eyes, and defiled his hands, with the dying agonies and the righteous blood of the proto-martyr Stephen! (Acts, vii. 58. xxii. 20. xxvi. 10, 11.) Surely, furely, WILLIAM PITT, with his fanguinary fraternity, whom you love, Mr. Wilberforce! and his despotic administration, which you fupport, and are become in consequence a partaker of their monstrous guilt; - furely these regular statesmen, I say, will be numbered with the last imitators of persecuting Saul, with the last perpetrators of such unspeakable atrocities, fuch inexpiable crimes, as these!!!! I faw under the altar the fouls of them, that were flain for the word of God, and for the teftimony, which they held; and they cried with a foud voice, faying : How long, O Lord ! boly and

and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? (Rev. vi. 9. 10.)

4. Though I am not folicitous to specify every characteristic doctrine of Christianity, or aim at the difficult attempt of illustrating all it's excellencies, with a circumstantial copiousness unnecessary on this occasion; yet in addressing you, Sir! it will in no wife be impertinent to observe, that the religion of Jesus is a system, not of ceremonies, but of fervices. Anxious scruples, (Matt. xxiii. 23. 25.) oftentatious formalities, (verr. 5. 14. 28.) demure grimace, (vi. 16.) long babbling prayers, and indeed all but private prayers, (ver. 5-9.) fastings, and similar austerities, are discountenanced, or condemned, by express declarations of the Gospel. Such formalities, in fact, are wholly inconfistent with a genuine profession of our religion in spirit and in truth; (John, iv. 23, 24.) with this sublime refined scheme of mental worship and internal purity. Our devotional constitution of foul, our filent principle of duty, is neither invigorated nor improved by the infpection of man, who looketh on the outward appearance only.

only, but by the consciousness of HIS eve. who looketh on the beart: (I Sam. xvi. 7.) As far as we find our affections warmed and our practice benefited by ritual performances, we are furnished with a criterion of our imperfect advances in the true Christian character, and our inadequate conceptions of the powers of the Gospel: Ceremonial observances are the milk fuited to babes in Christ: Heb. v. 12, 13. When we arrive at the full stature of perfect manhood, (Eph. iv. 12.) when our fenses, from exercise and experience, shall be able to discern between good and evil; we may expect to relish the firong meat of Christianity, and shall venture to put away these childish things; (Heb. v. 14. 1 Cor. xiii. II. bout ere or this has subject been some to

fitions, persecutions, and civil Tyranny, in all the shapes of that horrid siend, are diametrically opposite to the liberal spirit of the Christian discipline, and are most expressly and energetically condemned by it. No modes of conviction, beyond the gentle process of calm persuasion and rational appeal, are authorised by the gospel of Jesus Christ. He,

that bath ears to bear, let him hear; (Matt. xîii. q.) was the uniform maxim of the generous founder of our religion. He allowed no masters, no rabbis, no fathers, upon earth; (Matt. xxiii, 7-11.) no lordly interferences of councils or fynods, of emperors or popes, of parliaments or prelates, or even royal defenders of the faith! with his supreme and fole authority in that fpiritual dominion over the minds and consciences of his subjects. No high-priest of mere mortal ordination can rush with impunity into this fanctuary of the heart. Every species of church establishment, all human formularies of religious doctrine, all compulsory subscriptions to creeds, and articles, and canons, that contemptible trumpery of ignorant, lazy, mercenary, and impudent ecclesiastics! are a direct profanation of the fanctity of the Gospel, a profligate usurpation on the unalienable rights of private judgement, and an audacious rebellion against the sovereignty of the sole commisfioned legislator of Jehovah. No foundation can any man lay, beyond what is already laid, Jesus the Christ: (1 Cor. iii. 11.) Neither gold, nor filver, nor precious stones, and much less those baser materials of wood, bay, and Aubble.

stubble, laid on this foundation by slavish churchmen, the despicable engines of civil tyranny! will be long endured in connexion with that spotless and simple principle, which abhors all secular and carnal contact.

Non tamen ulla magis præsens fortuna laborum est, Quam si quis potuit serro rescindere summum Ulceris os: alitur vitium, vivitque tegendo, Dum medicas adhibere manus ad vulnera pastor Abnegat, aut meliora deos sedet omina poscens.

Such antichristian phantoms of our dreary fky, I have no doubt, will foon vanish, with the beafts of darkness, before the piercing beams of Liberty and Science. The night is far spent: the day is at band: (Rom. xiii. 12.) The Lord will prefently consume these dark iniquities, this delufion, and these lies of Satan, with the spirit of his mouth; and destroy them with the brightness of his coming: (2 Theff. ii. 7-12.) In the mean time, however, if these men trouble us, and pervert the gospel of Christ; if they preach any other gospel, than that delivered in the scriptures; if they teach, for doctrines, the commandments of men; - an authority, paramount and antecedent to all incidental regulations or connexions with

with local governments, commands us to reject them: (Gal. vii. 10. Matt. xv. 9.)

But some passages of the Christian volume are, in relation to this subject of religious domination and persecution, so eminently sublime and beautiful, as to merit distinct recital and ocular exhibition in these pages.

" Another parable put he forth unto them, " faying: The kingdom of heaven is likened " unto a man, which fowed good feed in his " field: but, while men flept, his enemy "came and fowed tares among the wheat, " and went his way. But, when the blade " was fprung up, and brought forth fruit, then "appeared the tares also. So the servants of " the housholder came and said unto him: "Sir! didft thou not fow good feed in thy " field? Whence then hath it tares? He " faid unto them: An enemy hath done this. " The fervants said unto him: WILT THOU "THEN, THAT WE GO AND GATHER THEM " UP? But he faid: NAY; LEST, WHILE YE "GATHER UP THE TARES, YE ROOT UP " ALSO THE WHEAT WITH THEM. LET " BOTH GROW TOGETHER UNTIL THE HAR-" VEST :

"vest: and, in the time of harvest, I will say to the reapers, gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn:"
(Matt. xiii. 24—31.)

You see here, Sir! a dictate of consummate wisdom, transcribed, to prevent misapprehension and disregard, as it were, with a sun-beam; a most engaging piece of parabolic history, prohibitory of all interposition with the moral and religious sentiments of individuals; sentiments, not cognizable indeed at the bar of a human judicature:—a precept of anticipation and foresight, directly levelled against intolerant churchmen and despotic legislators, who blend penalties, restrictions, punishments, civil disabilities, or secular interferences of any kind, with the spiritual interests of the Gospel.

But, to dwell a little longer on this momentous topic;

> ____ juvat usque morari, Et conferre gradum:

we are here presented with a divine prefcription, which neither dulness can misinterpret,

terpret, fophistry confound, nor artifice evade. But, "No;" fays the church of England, with all the hierarchical infolence of Papal usurpation: "You cannot learn the Gospel " from the scriptures only; you must not ex-" pect to find it there. I will tell you where " pure Christianity is to be contemplated in " it's perfection; namely, in my articles and " canons: and, if you want besides a most " perspicuous interpretation of them, you " must have recourse by all means to that " goodly manual and most pregnant epitome " of found doctrine, the ATHANASIAN "CREED!!! Moreover, if your obstinacy " and stupidity be so deplorably incurable, " as to refuse acceptance of all these incom-" prehenfible bleffings at my hands, and " hefitate at the verity of their contents also, " you shall not only, WITHOUT DOUBT, PE-" RISH EVERLASTINGLY, (which is a trifle) " but be debarred from all the good things " of Church and State; all those fat fops " and favoury meats, that are referved for " fuch obedient children, as love me, and " his Majesty's ministry for the time being, in " fincerity." " much nearly election. "

Another passage of the New Testament, not less observable and impressive, occurs in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. v. ver. 34—41. which it were unpardonable to suppress or abridge; replete as it is with singular magnanimity and intrinsic wisdom, and of universal reference to all discussion, civil or religious.

"Then stood there up one in the council,
a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the
law, had in reputation among all the people; and commanded to put the Apostles
forth a little space, and said unto them;
Ye men of Israel! take heed to yourselves
what ye intend to do as touching these men,
For before these days rose up Theudas,
boasting himself to be somebody; to whom
a number of men, about four hundred,
joined themselves: who was slain, and all,
as many as obeyed him, were scattered,
and brought to nought.

"After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, "in the days of the taxing; and drew away "much people after him. He also perished; "and "and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.

"And now I say unto you, REFRAIN FROM
"THESE MEN, AND LET THEM ALONE:
"for, if this counsel, or this work, be of
"men, it will come to nought; but, if it
"be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: lest
"haply ye be found to fight even against
"God. And to him they agreed."

Can you tell me, Sir! what fenatorial decifion ever exceeded, for manly candour, for judicious discrimination, for plain unsophisticated fense, this admirable suggestion of the Tewish doctor? The collective annals of human intellect and genius have not registered a transaction, more declaratory of honest intention, more honourable to the spirit of moderation and found policy, than that before us. Such, indeed, will ever be the uniform language of ingenuous men, warped by no felfish considerations, unbiassed by lucrative expectancies, conscious of a rectitude of purpose, and engaged in the conscientious support of a righteous system. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh

to the light, lest his deeds should be convicted: but he, that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God: (John iii. 20, 21.)

Κλεπτων γας ή νυξ, τηςδ' αληθειας το φως.

THIEVES court the night, but Truth defies the fun.

Now the decisions of modern Judges and Attornies-General would be couched, I trow, in language very dissimilar to that of the Israelitish sage; and something, perhaps, in the style of the following gracious expostulation:

"Culprit! we would have you to under"ftand, that our government, of which we
"are the difinterested servants, is an abso"lutely good government; and we will not
"fuffer any man to speculate upon it, nor in"dulge himself in the vain hope of mending
"what the King, who can do no wrong, and
"the wisdom of parliament, have so often de"clared to be, actual Perfection. We know
"it to be so by experimental sympathy: the
"gross and ignorant multitude are no judges
"of such delicate questions. Sir! you have
"been guilty of an unpardonable offence in
"discussing these mysteries in what you call a
"rational"

"to mislead your countrymen, amidst the "enjoyment of unknown happiness and profperity. This species of outrage and profanation, Sir! in men, whose only duty is
obedience, must not be endured with impunity. Sir! to be brief with you, we will
illuminate your understanding, and confer
true benefit on the community, by giving
you full opportunity of meditating more
maturely on this subject, in an inaccessible
basile, or during a fourteen years' slavery
among thieves and cut-throats at Botany
Bay."

Even the public orator, at Cambridge, and that arch-hypocrite, your fellow-traveller, Mr. Wilberforce! will not deny this process to be a most efficacious method of conviction and reformation; extremely proper to be adopted in the existing circumstances by a regular government, under the prosperous auspices of our immaculate and heaven-born prime-minister! who, happily for his own country and mankind! at length, acquiesces in the uncorrupt decisions of the legislature, and has long disabused himself of those filly notions of reformation,

formation, which once deluded the immaturity of his understanding!

If our most reverend and right reverend prelates with the wife fenators of the lower House should hear a grave preacher descanting upon the cruel persecutions, which the first Christians endured; and how their small fociety foon dilated itself under oppression and feverity through the habitable globe; they would acknowledge themselves convinced by the statement of the orator, and would clearly discern the extreme folly of coërcive meafures in that instance: not aware, in the mean time; because of that judicial blindness, which accompanies a mind under the dominion of habitual depravity, that they were pursuing the very measures, which their own unperverted judgement had deliberately condemned in a case absolutely correspondent in all it's parts in and I - radio does die

6. But to proceed, and conclude this divifion of my subject, by the most important of all topics in the present crisis of affairs. The CHRISTIAN RELIGION then, I say, is a system of EQUALITY, in the most rigorous and extensive

ne universal and undeniables tendens

tensive acceptation of that term. It is vain to palliate, as it is impossible to deny, in my opinion, this inevitable and plain conclusion. That universality and diffusion of benevolence. which teach the votaries of the Gospel to embrace collective man with the arms of brotherly affection, is incompatible with every fpecies of hereditary political distinction; is irreconcileable with every degree of aristocratical fuperiority. The felfishness, the intolerance, the peculiar depravity, more or less inseparable, through the unalterable connexion of cause and effect, even from the most gentle and amiable natures; - these fruits, I say, of educational fingularities in Nobility, generally fpeaking, can no more unite with the meek, unaffuming, condescensive, and affociating qualities of evangelic love, than the heterogeneous materials of the prophetic image, (Dan. ii. 43.) the iron and the clay, could incorporate with each other. I am fimply adverting here to the universal and undeniable tendencies of things; nor would I be understood to suppose, that the most sublime virtues and most endearing benevolent affections may not fubfift in the fphere of exalted ranks. I affert merely, that the education of these higher classes.

classes, their early habits and modes of life, their affluent expectations, are a grievous stumbling-block in their way; and must impede in some degree the freedom of their progress in running the race of Virtue and Immortality. Sure I am, that a day will come, and is even now at the door of some European nations, when the clouds of vulgar superstition and the mists of infantile prejudice, that encumber and pollute the atmosphere of social life, whilst they intercept the intellectual prospects of the mind, will be purged from our horizon; when a clear sky will shed it's unfullied splendours and benign influences on the human race:

Scindit se nubes, et in æthera purgat apertum.

Then such monstrous solecisms in religion and reason, as established churches, hereditary distinctions and immunities, &c. &c. will only exist in the records of antiquated history, as awful monuments of the wickedness, infatuation, and calamities of mankind.

But observe, Sir! with what earnestness and pathos, the lessons of humility, of reciprocal

procal service, of the meekest condescension, of the kindest sympathy, and of undistinguishing philanthropy, are inculeated on his disciples by the benevolent Saviour of the world; who displayed in his own person an example of modesty and mildness, utterly subversive of all usurped domination and transmitted privilege.

"And there was also a strife among his disciples, which of them should be accounted the disciples, which of them should be accounted the disciples. But Jesus said unto them: Ye know, that the kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that are great, exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but, whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and, whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant. Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister; and to give his life a ransom for many:" (Matt. xx. 25—29. Luke xxii. 24—28.)

Impartiality, however, and a love for the true principles of fair criticism, call upon me to declare, that the latter sentence is exhibited

with a very material transposition of phrase, and variety of readings, in some MS copies of the New Testament, belonging to the Imperial library at Vienna, and other royal repositories, that might be mentioned, if a scrupulous detail of such minutiæ were expedient on this occasion:

In western clime there is a town,
To those that dwell therein west known;
Therefore, there needs no more be said here:
We unto them refer our reader.
For brevity is very good,
When w' are, or are not, understood.

Indeed, the variations here spoken of are delineated in *red* ink, which betrays the hand of a modern interpolator; and stand as follows:

"Even as the kings of the isles came not to minister, but to be ministered unto; and to give the life of many myriads a ransom for their own pleasure."

Sir! I leave you, and your ministerial partisans, assisted by the wisdom of Parliament, to balance the respective excellence of these readreadings, to fettle these curious aberrations of slumbering transcribers, and to point out the sources of their mistake:

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.

Again: — "So, after Jesus had washed "their seet, and had taken his garments, and "was set down again, he said unto them: "Know ye, what I have done unto you? Ye "call me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and "Master, have washed your feet, ye also "ought to wash one another's feet. For I "have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you. Verily, verily, "I say unto you, The servant is not greater "than his lord; neither he, that is sent, greater than he that sent him. If ye know "these things, happy are ye, if ye do them:" (John, xiii. 12—18.)

But I shall not multiply quotations in support of a proposition, loudly proclaimed and indubitably demonstrated, by every action of our Saviour's life, and every precept of his tongue. I conclude then, that the pure spirit of the the Gospel, operative through the whole mass of the creation, is the life of every man alike; that it comprehends, and should pervade every professor, from the beggar on the dungbill, (1 Sam. ii. 8.) to the monarch that sitteth on his throne: (Exod. xi. 5.) It is altogether frivolous and inapplicable, or universally and undistinguishably pertinent: it is nothing, or the most important of all things possible.

II. I am now arrived, Sir! at the concluding division of my subject; of less general moment and application, it is true; but, beyoud all controversy, of no inconsiderable concernment to yourself. You will be weighed in my balance, and found materially wanting. That balance, indeed, is not the even and unerring balance (Job, xxxi. 6.) of the fanctuary; but the balance of a weak and fallible fellow-creature: of one, however, who has watched fome days and fome nights in the fober investigation of scripture truth, and has facrificed many a hecatomb of focial comfort and fecular emolument on her altar: whose judgement, therefore, has some authority, and is entitled to some respect. I believe you from my foul to be well-intentioned, unaffuming,

affuming, and uninfluenced by worldly motives; but under the dangerous dominion of superstitious and puerile prepossessions. Under this conviction, I have frequently stood forth as your apologist, in opposition to those harsher adversaries, who could find no solution of your strange political demeanour, but in depravity of heart: a supposition, which in all cases. where no finister views are visible, forces itself with extreme reluctancy on my breast. No: your ingenuous nature has been abused by infidious and felfish profligates; who, destitute of worth themselves, have been eager to prostitute your virtues and reputation to their own interest or popularity. I believe you to be actuated, like the Ifraëlites of the apostle's days, with a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge: (Rom. x. 2.) You are exempt too, I hope and would willingly perfuade myfelf, from that overweening influence of fanatical impressions, which, beneath the specious semblance of humility and felf-annihilation, inflates, with a most dangerous infusion of fanctimonious contemptuousness and Pharisaic pride, that class of Christians, among which you rank.

1. To proceed, therefore, in my plan. You will recollect, Sir! that the volume, which we so justly love, -those boly scriptures, that are able to make us wife unto falvation, (2 Tim. iii. 15.) has furnished it's readers with a touch-stone, at which we may try our faith, whether it be adulterate, or pure. The words of our Lord's favourite disciple will possibly recur to memory on this occasion: If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God: (John, vii. 17.) Concerning your own knowledge of this doctrine, with respect to your own soundness in the faith, few scruples, I dare fay, have broken in of late years upon the tranquillity of your acquiescence. Your fellow traveller, to whom I have before alluded in these pages, whose foul hypocrify and dark malignity, though unsuspected by yourself, are practically known to me; that impostor, I say, has contributed to confirm you in a gloomy fystem of evangelical fanaticism, which he derides as much as any man in theory, and contemns openly and avowedly, beyond all others, in his conduct. The remarks, Sir! which I am proceeding to fubjoin, will affift your determination with respect to the uncorruptness

of your religious creed, infinitely better than the suggestions of that subtle sycophant and deceiver, on the principles of my unexceptionable authority just quoted from the book of life.

when whon glory or a crucified Medeciner!

2. In relation to your private character and focial manners, I have been favoured with no opportunities of experimental knowledge. I feel myself, however, entirely disposed to believe you here so far irreproachable and praiseworthy, as the egregious puerility of your religious fancies will allow. Your public character alone, abundantly conspicuous, from the elevation of your polition, to the whole community, will constitute the basis of my enquiries and conclusions; and this is so strongly marked by actions of most decisive quality, as to admit, I should suppose, on a full and fair statement, no possible diversity of fentence with rational and dispassionate enquirers.

In one word, Sir! to launch at once into the middle of my subject, you stand impeached, in a most awful day of trial, at the bar of Religion, Reason, and Humanity, of that high G

erime and mifdemeanour, - a long, and unit form, and ardent support, in your political capacity, of that right bonourable gentleman, WILLIAM PITT. Here paufe a moment, I befeech you! you, who love the Gofpel; you, who glory in a crucified Redeemer! Endeavour to frame, before you proceed, fome conception of the direful pregnancy, the multitudinous dependencies, of this fhort and simple proposition! The friend of WILLIAM PITT."- You will obtain merty, I trust; because you have acted ignorantly, in unbelief: (1 Tim. i. 13.) You are not, you cannot be, perfectly aware, I am perfuaded, of the immeasurable enormities compriled In that zealous and powerful co-operation with fuch a minister: or the bare contemplation of the circumftance would affound and quality, as to admit, I floudied work willing fall and fair fratement, no possible diversity

Adspice: namque omnem, que nune, obducta tuenti, Mortales hebetat visus tibi, et humida circum Caligat, nubem eripiam.

Then your eyes hitherward, whilst I develop the horrid texture of wickedness extreme, and calamity unexampled:—contemplate, if you can, with a calm survey, the frightful spectacle: tacle: trace the black embroidery, and the thick characters of hell, that are wrought in fuch fanguine colours, with such awful and living portraiture, on the ample bosom of it's folds and drapery.

Quanquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit,
Incipiam.

turns of his public life: or alliga force ade-

that this WILLIAM PITT, who has lost bis memory, profest himself, at the commencement of his parliamentary career, a most strenuous advocate for reform in the representation of the people; as the only radical cure, that could be devised, for the multisations and slagrant corruptions of our government. His words, I am informed, are tantamount to the following declaration; or, in truth, accurately the same with these: "Without a reformation in Parliament, nei"ther the liberty of the subject can be pre"ferved, nor can we expect to have a wise,
"virtuous, or disinterested administration."

officentery, I triok, can gainfay, that the repre-

Well!" you would reply: "My friend to continues in this fentiment: he is still an advocate for reformation in the representative G 2 "tative

"tative body of this kingdom." Observe then, Sir! I entreat you, to what alternative by this fond credulity you are reduced. You must either accept with implicit acquiescence the unsupported affertion of the stripling statesman, and obstinately resist the clearest demonstrations of undisputed fact in the maturity of his public life: or affign some adequate reason for his present supineness on the subject of this measure.

his memory profest himself, at the com-

I must remind you, Sir! that, during his administration, this man has created, including his reverend progeny of prelates and the exaltations of inferior nobility to higher titles, nearly one half, I believe, of the peerage of this realm.—Mark this diligently: and cease to wonder, that Sir Brook Boothby has styled our present house of lords, "New creatures " of the minister, and old valets of the king; " courtly lawyers, and a courtly hierarchy."

Further.—It is most notorious, and what no effrontery, I think, can gainsay, that the representatives of the people during the same period have numbered amongst them in large proportion a description of men, more immediately

" lerved nor can we expect to have a wile,

diately and effentially under the influence of the minister from their mercantile character, incomparably beyond the example of any former period that can be specified. With reason, therefore, has the same elegant, but satiric, pen, characterised this bonourable assembly, as composed "of placemen, pensembly, as composed "of placemen, pensembly, and every expectants, India delinunisterial dependants; kennelled like hounds, and crouching for employment: representatives, representing nothing but their own personal interest."

It were a superfluous scrupulosity to extend our researches further in prosecution of the point in question. Detestable surely must be that audacity, which resuses to acknowledge,—deplorable that sottishness, which is unable to perceive,—the absolute irreconcileability of such a conduct with such professions. No, Sir! This was the lure holden out by a young grey-beard in imposture to entrap popular simplicity; a simplicity, irrationally seduced by boastful promises, superficial loquacity, and a precipitate presumption of hereditary virtues. The public attachment was effectually secured,

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even to an excess of enthusiastic fondness and admiration. His disinterested partisans, however, have been long disenchanted of their fond delirium; they have been sobered for many years from the intoxicating sumes of his magic cup: but alas!

Nil fibi legatum præter plorare, fuisque:

unavailing remorfe is their only confolation now; and the bitterness of self-condemnation, too justly merited by such groundless and immoderate credulity! their sole reward Reformation is erased for ever from the tablet; and Revolution is written in it's place. Dabit Deus bis quoque sinem.

For my own part, whether from a fingular propentity of penetration into human character with some success, or from superior opportunities of experimental observation, I never found myself at any period of my life mistaken in my judgement of that man. His distainful aspect, and supercisious demeanour, when a contemporary youth at Cambridge; the self-opiniated dictatorial complexion of his sirst speeches in public life; the prematurity of his oratorical exhibitions;—all these strik-

ing peculiarities were sufficient indications, to my mind at least, that "all was false and "hollow;" a gaudy structure, destitute of foundation and stability; the blossoms of wisdom and of virtue, without the root: and, because they had no root, they are withered away.

Quasi solstitalis herba, paullisper suit: Repente exortus est, repentino occidit.

This frail folstitial flower, one transient day
Saw spread it's verdure, blossom, and decay.

Ye sons of Cam! in whose hearts this golden ided (but a mere wooden log to me) has been long set up and worshipped; your eyes have often seen a fit emblem for this object of your profane adoration on the bosom of that wizard stream, which washes the hallowed feet of our Alma Mater!

(O! name for ever fad, for ever dear!)

Your eyes have noticed a plant, expanding it's broad foliage and stately flower on the surface of the waters; but have found, on closer in-spection, that "the stem, by which it receives "nourishment and support, was slender as a "thread."

This, Sir! is the man, the grand exemplar

of systematical corruption, and the sworn for to all reformations whatsoever;

quantum mutatus ab illo

whose measures you have promoted with cordial concurrence, with a considence unlimited, and with the powerful influence of your reputation, amidst an inconsistency of conduct, to which it seems impossible for any intellect above the mere imbecillity of idiotism to have been the dupe. You have admired, loved, and revered this minister, with the mark of the beast, with all the unequivocal characters of apostasy and persidy, deeply engraven on his forebead. But this, I suppose, is one of your extraordinary methods of

LOOKING UNTO JESUS!

4. You proved yourself the staunch coadjutor of this incomparable guardian of our liberties, civil and religious, in his opposition to a repeal of the Test-laws and penal statutes in behalf of the Protestant-differents from the Church establishment. When the delegates from that body waited on the minister with

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an explanation of their intended proposition to Parliament, and a folicitation of his support, this complicated monster, this Amphisbana dire, left an impression upon them at their first interview, fignificant of an intended patronage of their petition. There is no mifrepresentation, Sir! no exaggeration, in this statement. My informants are the eye and ear witnesses of this transaction. Whether he were fincere at that time, and were afterwards diverted from his purpose by motives of interest and ambition; or even then were biaffed by the countervailing influence of his habitual duplicity: I take not upon me to decide. The fact only is incontestable: that his subsequent exertions on this question were diametrically opposed to a previous expectation, excited by his. looks, and words, and demeanour, in men not likely to deceive themselves, and incapable of deceiving others.

You likewise, Mr. Wilbersorce! seemed originally inclined to savour these petitioners, before the engine of priestcrast and political cajolery had been played on your simplicity; but you speedily recovered your steps from this incidental deviation into rectitude. You

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are conscious, that what I am going to affirm, is truth. You, good creature! dutiful fon of orthodoxy! pious nurfling of our dear Mother-Church! you were fmitten forfooth! with a holy compunction of spirit, lest the repeal of these laws, and the consequent removal of civil disabilities, should prove ultimately prejudicial to the interests of the hierarchical establishment in these kingdoms, and overset the Thirty-nine Articles; that impregnable bulwark of our faith! Your understanding was feized, I must presume, with a momentary oblivion of a most emphatical leffon in our Scriptures; or your theological preceptors, it is possible, had neglected the proper interpretation of that important paffage. Suffer me to recall the words to your remembrance, and to accompany them with a few notes of illustration, as we pass.

"And Jesus said unto his disciples: But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered, and said: Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God. And Jesus answered, and said unto him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona! for sless and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which

"which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it:" (Matt. xvi 15—19.)

Now observe, Sir! what momentous and fundamental principles of Christianity are enveloped in this short dialogue between our Master and his apostle. You cannot employ with a brighter prospect of edification a few moments of your time, than by concentrating your attention to an evolution of these principles.

We are here taught, upon no less evidence than the declaration of our Lord himself;—

1. that the badge of communion with the Gospel is a simple acknowledgement, that Jesus is the Christ, the son of the living God: or, in other words, that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah of the Israelites, delegated by God for the redemption of mankind from ignorance, and fin, and death.

Now, Sir! I demand of you, I demand of the whole priesthood and prelacy of this land, H 2 by

by what authority ye presume to superinduce other conditions of Christian fellowship upon this fingle postulatum of your Saviour? On what plea of reason have ye taken upon you to deprive any man of the unalienable birthright of equal citizenship, because he refuses acceptance of your forgeries and impositions; your creeds, your articles, your canons, and fummaries of faith? Who commissioned this self-created dictator in spiritual concerns, this man of fin, this fon of perdition, thus to lord it over God's beritage; - thus, by such impious exaltation of his power, to invade a divine prerogative, and usurp a throne even in the temple of God himself? (2 Thess. ii. 3. 4. 1 Pet. v. 3.) But possibly this rebellion against the sole legislation of Jehovah, and the supremacy of Christ in his own kingdom, may be another of your modes of

Looking unto Jesus!

2. You may remark further from this passage, so pregnant with Gospel truth! that the revelation of genuine Christianity, and it's profession in simplicity and purity, are detached from

from all intercourse with flesh and blood: that is, human principles, worldly motives, civil power, temporal policy, are as dissonant from the spirituality of our religion, as unconnected with that vital operation of intrinsic agency, as unaccording with those invisible influences of the intellect and heart,—as light with darkness; as Christ with Belial: (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.)

God never made his work for man to mend.

Your ecclefiastical institutions, Sir! are in reality a most offensive abomination in contrast with the fweet favours of Gospel incense: they constitute the most prominent feature in that antichristian tyranny, on which the word of prophecy has denounced most exemplary vengeance; a vengeance, that is now at length awaking from a flumber (2 Pet. ii. 3.) of ages, and roufing all it's energies into action. The victims, indeed, after the usual procedure in great national judgements, enjoy themselves with heedless security, as in a perfect calm: like the antediluvian generation of Noah's day, "they eat, they drink, they "buy, they fell, they plant, they build:" (Luke, xvii. 28.) they continue their career

of supineness and deception, of prodigality and insolence, of venality and cruel persecution, in conjunction with their state-ally, though a dreadful specimen of similar infatuation, so recently exhibited in a neighbouring country, is staring them in the face.

But that two-handed engine at the door Stands ready to fmite once, and fmite no more!

3. Finally, Sir! Christ has advertised us, in this passage, of the perpetual permanency of his Church, sounded on that adamantine profession of his Messiahship: The gates of hell (or rather, of the grave; i. e. mortality and destruction) shall not prevail against it.

Go now, and suppose this mighty fabric, whose contriver and builder is God (Heb. xi. 10.) Omnipotent; whose foundations repose on the immutability of Truth; whose compartments are coextensive with the globe; whose battlements transcend the skies:—go now, and imagine this vast edifice tottering from it's center by the assaults of non-conformists and unbelievers: call loudly for your Church and her rotten props; summon your king, your minister, and bishops, with all the names of hierarchical

hierarchical distinction, (a great multitude, which no man can number, Rev. vii. 9.) to put out their fingers, before it lie prostrate in the dust!

I cannot excuse this species of folly, Sir! in you, who have devoted yourfelf to heavenly meditation and a painful study of the scriptures. Mr. Pitt's conduct in this respect is susceptible of much more palpable extenuation. Spiritual musings and fober love-feasts form no part of his enjoyments and occupations. Gallio careth for none of these things: (Acts, xviii. 17.) The principles of civil liberty, he has forgotten; those of religious, he never knew. I could readily prevail upon myfelf, if all elfe were well, to obliterate at once, with the rafure of forgetfulness, this transgression from the long and crouded catalogue of his offences. Compared with his other crimes, fuch hostility to an equal participation of religious privileges is no more than one barren spot in a wide and dreary wilderness: a mere volcanic eruption amidst the conflagration of the universe!

5. We are now ascending a much higher step on the ladder of political atrocities; to which I shall raise you, Sir! from the vantage-ground of a few preliminary observations.

TRUTH, Sir! is the most meritorious purfuit, the very noblest acquisition, of an intellectual and moral creature: the bloffom of Happiness, and the root of Virtue. To this purpose is that fine remark of Plutarch: Ουθεν ανθρωπω λαβεν μειζον, ου χαριζεσθαι Θεω σεμνοτερον, αληθειας: "Man can receive no " bleffing of greater worth, God can bestow " none more venerable, than TRUTH." But how, Sir! is Truth to be discovered, whether evangelical, moral, philosophical, or political, but, by diligent and unrestrained investigation; by the full and free application of human in-Tell me, then; Is not that man a tellect? rebel against Reason, against Truth, Humanity, and God; are not those laws, I do not fay, abfurd and wicked, but abfolutely void, and antecedently incapable of observance without an actual profanation of the divine will; -which prefume to circumscribe, or fetter, much more to destroy and punish, this fundamental

mental criterion of rationality — this first duty of intellectual existence?

- cunctis undamque, auramque, patentem.

If the government of any country answer all the purposes of it's institution in rendering the people happy, men will not be argued out of their feelings and common-sense by the fanciful exaggerations of a repining scribbler: but if, again, the rulers of a nation become despotic and unmerciful, devoted to their own purposes of peculation and ambition; that writer deserves well of his fellowcitizens and mankind at large, who attempts by reason and argument to destroy a constitution, which exists only to retard the providential intentions of universal happiness to the human race.

We are here engaged, however, in a threadbare topic; and I hasten my application of it to your case. I shall, therefore, but just stay to mention the *fruitless* of such impotent restrictions; or rather their direct tendency to promote the very purpose, which they are endeavouring to impede. The rays of knowledge may indeed be partially intercepted

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for a time, and broken, by the obliquity of legal interpolition; but the parent luminary still pursues, unretarded, his progress through the skies, to invigorate and illumine universal Nature.

Now permit me, Sir! to direct your attention towards the illustrious achievements of your redoubtable hero in this department of transgression.

- 1. The freedom of public discussion has been abridged by sanguinary statutes virtually incompatible with the verbal compact between the subjects and their principal fervant (Rom. xiii. 3.) the chief magistrate of this realm, the creature (ανθεωωνη ΚΤΙΣΕΙ, 1 Pet. ii. 13.) of our hands: a compact, ratisfied by a public and solemn oath at the time of his conditional investiture with his delegated office.
- 2. Many of our fellow-citizens have been punished by severe and arbitrary fines, by long and cruel imprisonments, by banishment to the extremities of the earth among beather savages, under very trying circumstances of calamity

calamity in a fudden transition from the liberal enjoyments of a literary life to dark loathfome dungeons, - to difease, and chains, and famine, and desolation: their spotless fame has been exposed to the flanders and obloquy of their countrymen from false calumnies, pretended plots, and unfubstantiated accusations of regal murder: they have been tried for their lives like the meanest felons, and impeached of the blackest political crimes, under the impressions of strong public prejudice; and, when pronounced innocent by their peers, in spite of all the machinations of diabolical malice and the foul exertions of mercenary lawyers in this work of blood, they have been dismissed, after a tedious imprisonment and exorbitant expences, arifing from the iniquities of office, without the smallest retribution for these flagrant injuries, which indeed no retribution could compensate, on the part of their unrelenting perfecutors.

These are but cursory gleanings from a full harvest, a small selection from the multitudinous enormities of that grand national impostor, WILLIAM PITT!

Τι πρώτου, τι δ' επειτα, τι δ' ύστατιου, παταλεξω;

these are but a slight specimen of his infernal manœuvres against some of the most valuable and accomplished members in so-ciety, for treading in his own steps! (observe this, Mr. Wilberforce!) for attempting the same reformation of abuses by the same means; namely, by a melioration of the representative body in the Commons' house of Parliament: an object, which raised himself to power and popularity. — Such have hitherto been the contrary fortunes of these reformers!

Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.

These o'er the sea to savage deserts roam; This deluges the world with blood at home.

Perhaps a dire reverse of doom is unfolding from the bosom of futurity: yet I wish, that not a hair may perish from the heads of the authors of our miseries! May they rather live to expiate during this existence their dreadful crimes in the bitterness of remorse; and may their future days be one whole contrition for their sins!

Now, Sir! in this monstrous mass of guilt unparalleled, you, as the abettor and accessory of this Minister, are entitled to some share; nay, must in reason be deemed a principal participant. The patronage and support, of such men as you, has enabled this child of perdition to run with impunity and success his long race of hardened apostasy and serocious persecution. Yet you still adhere to your associate! You still repose upon his humanity and virtues an unreserved considence, as if he were a second Titus, the delight, the pride, the ornament, of human nature! And this, peradventure, is your third method of

LOOKING UNTO JESUS!

6. Finally, Sir! you have seconded, justified, and encouraged our wordy warrior, in that most tremendous of all measures, The war with France:

Oh! write it not, my Hand!—The name appears Already written:—wash it out, my Tears!

a war, originally projected upon fictitious and abfurd pretences, against every obvious dictate of religion, of reason, and sound policy; a war, prosecuted with barbarian serocity, amidst the perpetual admonitions of miscarriage, and the unceasing expostulations of the

the wife and good; a war, accompanied with a complication of calamity and a devastation of the human species, prodigious beyond all examples in the records of mortality, fince the first revolution of the sun. Even your guilt, Sir! as an approver only and subordinate promoter of this most nefarious of all possible undertakings, is great and terrible indeed! I am fure, for my own part, that I would not exchange conditions with you, under the circumstance of that horrible atrocity, unrepented and unannealed by remorfe and reparation, by the fighs of a broken heart, and tears of blood-for all the honours and riches, that kings and potentates could befrow. Yet this, it is possible, may be another of your ways of

LOOKING UNTO JESUS!

And in this place, Sir! permit me to direct your eyes upon an emblematical exhibition, which has suggested itself to my fancy, during it's occupation on the present subject.

In the front of this ideal picture, you may observe a prodigious pile of carcases, maimed, bruised, mangled, and gored with many wounds. From the foot of this Alp of car-

nage,

nage, you difcern streams of blood iffuing with strong eruption, and cutting channels for themselves in every direction through the country. On all fides, at various distances, are discovered a variety of ghastly forms, as if they had just escaped beyond hope from that mass of slain, looking back with a mixture of horror and exultation on their flaughtered companions: some, deprived of their limbs, and others writhing with the tortures of horrid wounds. In the West, are presented to your view vast multitudes withering and finking with the blaft of death in peftilential climates; weltering on the shore, or floating on the ocean. Through the whole painting are dispersed ruined towns, wasted fields, ships and villages in flames. The intervening spaces are diversified with groups of disconsolate widows and helpless orphans, decrepit fires and hoary matrons, bereft of their only comfort; beating their breafts, and rending the skies with groans and lamentations.

At one corner of the piece, you may fee brethren of malignant aspect, armed against brethren, and assailing each other with implacable placable ferocity: abetted and affifted in their unnatural hostilities by a band of russians, just landed from their ships; whom their dress and ensigns proclaim the inhabitants of another country.

his distribution which he was inde

Above, in the regions of the sky, darkened with clouds and deformed by tempests, you may discover a portentous griefly fiend, fcattering around him firebrands and death, with famine, pestilence, and war, attendant on his nod: in dark Divan with his foul affeffors. the partners of his mischiefs, besmeared with the blood of human facrifice, and grinning borribly a ghaftly smile, to see the successful operation of their devilish purposes. In a remote corner of the picture, rays of light are feen gradually darting from the horizon: you behold them strike the souls of those aërial dæmons with consternation and dismay; with borrible imaginings of their own destruction in the speedy dissolution of their empire. -

But your friend engaged in this war, truly, in behalf of Religion, Humanity, and regular Governments!

1. By the pretence of this motive of religion, it should seem, that your copy of the Gospels prescribes, as an admirable specific for reforming the manners of the world, and as the true medium of doing God fervice. (John, xvi. 2.) the cutting of men's throats by a legion of brutal mercenaries trained for the purpose, and legalized to the trade of flaughter!—By this too we may be led to conclude, that the Jesus, to whom you look, came into the world, not to SAVE men's lives. but to DESTROY them: (Luke, ix. 56.) By this, in short, we might reasonably presume, from the piety and fanctity of your doctrines and your life, that a trivial monofyllable has flipped, from the carelessness of copyists, out of one commandment in the decalogue, as exhibited in your Bible, where you have been accustomed to read it thus:

THOU SHALT COMMIT MURDER!

2. In the next place, the interests of bumanity, beyond all possibility of contradiction, are admirably forwarded and secured by the conversion of men into something much worse than brutes:—

K

Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem Perpetuam; sævis inter se convenit ursis:

Perpetual bonds of amity endear
Tigress to tigress, shaggy bear to bear:—

(Mr. OWEN.)

into fiends and devils, gorged with the flesh and blood of their fellow-men. But, what is the guilt of the poor ignorant hungry offenders, compared with that of those finners, their employers and instigators; of whom you are CHIEF? (I Tim. i. 15.) Not much more, in a fair estimate, than that of the passive bayonet, to the hand which thrusts it to the heart .-Oh! Sir! are not the words of Peter too applicable to conduct fuch as your's? Thou baft neither part, nor lot, in this matter; for thy beart is not right in the fight of God. Repent, therefore, of this thy wickedness; and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee: for I perceive, that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity: (Acts, viii. 21-24.)

Surely the rankest beathenism is incomparably preferable to so base a species of Christianity as this.

3. And, beyond all peradventure, politician PITT! and Rabbi WILBERFORCE! regular government is admirably confulted by the propagation of alarms and terrors, by the fabrication of plots and treasons, by the fomentation of suspicion and malevolence; by setting a man at variance against his father, and transforming bis own houshold into his greatest foes; (Matt. x. 35, 36.) by arming the more profligate portion of fociety with swords and staves against the other. We may venture to mix also in this never-failing recipe, this perfect panacea, for focial regularity and national composure, a few lighter ingredients, such as taxes, bankruptcies, a scarcity of corn, and such an exorbitant increase in the expence of common necessaries, as render a decent maintenance of ourselves and families in the lower orders of life extremely difficult, and to some impracticable. But this accumulation of anxiety and distress, these scenes of misery, derived purely from the profligacy of our rulers, in lieu of a prosperity, never equalled by any nation under heaven, within our reach, may be possibly one of the religious consequences, Sir! that result from your fingular mode of

Looking unto Jesus!

4. But lastly, that I may not bewilder myself with a theme of inexhaustible calamity,
to the prime actors in which, (you, I mean,
Mr. Wilberforce! with your friend Moloch,
and his companions,—

Of human facrifice, and parents' tears;)

no bitterness of invective, in my conscientious opinion, can possibly do justice; - whose villanies and cruelty transcend in their effects, on a fair comparison of the respective cases, all that fable has transmitted, all that history records, of the most merciless savages of antiquity: - to avoid bewilderment, I fay, amidst fuch a multiplicity of topics, (for time would fail me, should I attempt to speak at large) · I shall only solicit your attention to one confideration more, and then difmifs you to your beads and prayer-book, to divide with your favourite minister in parliament on questions of persecution, tyranny, and bloodshed; after a few farewell reflections, and a short lesson of advice.

Your heaven-born friend, amongst the number of his pious meditations on the means

of restoring a regular government to France, happily devised the god-like scheme of subduing the inhabitants of that populous empire to religion, humanity, and laws, by the fummary discipline of FAMINE. Gracious parent of the universe! who givest to the beast bis food, and feedest the young ravens, when they cry; (Pfalm, cxlvii. 9.) who openest thy hand, and all thy creatures are filled with good; (civ. 28.) who art kind to the unthankful, and the evil; (Luke, vi. 35.) who makest thy sun to rise on the wicked and on the good, and sendest rain on the just and on the unjust; (Matt. v. 45.) who hast expressly commanded us, by the mouth of thy dear Son, to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, and to pray for our despiteful persecutors, (ver. 43, 44.) that we may merit the endearing appellation of thy children: - were it previoully conceiveable, that beings in the buman shape divine, with the same life-current circulating in their veins, heirs to the same infirmities of the flesh, and joint-partakers of mortal feelings and affections - could calmly contrive, deliberately purfue, and audaciously avow, this scheme of pre-eminent atrocity; a scheme, that beggars all capacities of language, guage, and sets every power of calculation at defiance? — In this guilt also, you, Mr. Wilbersorce! have made yourself, by silent acquiescence and subsequent support of the horrid perpetrators, a detestable associate. Guilt, did I say? This may be, on the contrary, with you, for aught I can discover, some peculiarly edifying mode of

Chief ever the achievements of that uni-

And now, Sir! let me take the liberty of proposing a simple question for your solution:

—Upon a review of the preceding picture of your compeers, coloured from the life with the pencil of disinterested truth, will you prefer loyal Christian Englishmen, of the described complexion, to the people so extravagantly revised by them, I mean rebellious French atheists; or not? Suppose we assist our decision on this point by descending from general competition to a specific instance. Whether of the twain, for example, do you most approve and reverence; Buonaparte, (late the fond object of my solicitude day and night;

 but now, with his unrivalled companions of the war, my confolation and my triumph!) BUONAPARTE, I say, or EDMUND BURKE? The one, a prodigy beyond compare in eloquence and genius; but a stend in malignity, and insatiable of human blood;

Shutting the gates of mercy on mankind:

the other, in the very midst of victories, which eclipse even the achievements of that unrivalled Carthaginian, preferring one civic crown, for the preservation of a single citizen from death, to the melancholy glory, that could result from a thousand triumphs of a conqueror, wading through floods of slaughter to his reward!

Are we, Sir! in the place of God to scrutinize the bidden man of the beart, and to decide on principles, where no public profession of them has been uttered? No: the external act, by which alone society can be benefited or impaired, is in most cases the only standard whereby our determinations on character must be regulated. Your faith and mine, on what I deem the fundamental points of revelation, is probably not very different: but I can suggest

gest to my own mind a variety of exculpatory reasons, in heedlessness, fashionable levity, fecular diffipation, an immoderate conceit of superior discernment, fundamental defects of education, neglect of adequate information and laborious enquiry, a perpetual exposure of gross depravity and puerile superstition in professing Christians, with other obstacles and discouragements, as probable sources of the unbelieving propenfities of the present day. Shew me thy faith by thy works; (James, ii. 18.) and I am satisfied: I want no more. Godwin's Political Justice I read with pleasure and improvement; with admiration of the philosophical composure, the temperate but vigorous ratiocination, the perspicuous energetic style, the clear discernment, and the unreferved investigation, of it's author. - I differ, perhaps, in many points; but I confess, that I love fuch men, and wish ardently that they were not only almost, but altogether, such as I myself am: (Acts, xxvi. 29.) Qui tales sunt, utinam effent nostri! When, on the other hand, I take up your publication, my predominant feelings are those of disgust, abhorrence, and indignation. I expect with such principles an exemplary purity of conduct.-I con-

I contrast your professions with your life; your faith with your works; holy lectures with blood-guiltiness; the follower of Jesus with the friend and advocate of PITT. And can you wish a more compleat definition of irreconcileable antipathy, than the contents of the last clause; or a more ample vindication of my fensations on the perusal of your book? In fact, Christians, like you, Mr. Wilberforce! ignorant what spirit ye are of, prove a more fruitful fource of atheism and infidelity, than all other causes put together; formalists, as ye are, of devout fentiments and fanctified demeanour. but accomplices in enormities shocking to human feelings; whited sepulchres, beautiful on the outside, but full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness; (Matt. xxiii. 27.) having a form, of godliness, but without the power; (2 Tim. iii. 5.) professing, in short, to know God, but in deeds denying bim; abominable, disobedient, and to every good work reprobate: (Tit. i. 16.)

I am aware, Sir! that this sentence on you will be thought exceedingly intemperate and harsh by men of dull sensations and of no zeal even for gospel truth: but, what I have written, I have written; and have exhibited at the same time my vouchers for writing thus, from

L

the unerring book of life, in the preceding pages. My words are, in reality, the words of truth and soberness: (Acts, xxvi. 25.) they will stand the test of Reason and the Scriptures; though Festus, perhaps, and his crew of mercenary parafites, or lukewarm worldlings, may think me mad. I shall acknowledge the contents, with the exultation of confcious rectitude. " in the hour of death, and in the day of " judgement." According to my own conceptions of the subject under contemplation, I have affigned " proper words to their proper " places." If the language be deemed in any respect too harsh and pointed, it must be so deemed with reference only to the feelings of the censurer; for I could find no adequate image of my own fensations in any other phraseology. Out of the abundance of my beart my mouth bath spoken. If crimes of the deepest dye under the colour of Christian sanctity can be stigmatised, in the judgement of some readers, by any terms of reproach more than commensurate to their deserts, I grudge no man the enjoyment of this opinion; but, amidst the invectives of foes, and the remonstrances of friends, continue to retain my own, and filently transfer from myfelf, on deliberate and deep

conviction, the disproportion in this case to some erroneous principle of action in my objectors. The genuine correspondences of words and things, and the reality of moral distinctions, will still subfist, in spite of the prudery, the fastidiousness, the constitutional inanimation or mistaken candour of mankind; and will neither be confounded, nor difrespected, with impunity. The practical benefits of my procedure I could illustrate by various examples of notoriety, if required. Thomas Paine, for instance, will answer Bishop Watson's pamphlet; but, I predict, will never venture a reply to mine. Wounded pride and confcious profligacy have fet their feal upon his tongue. To have written otherwise, on the present occasion, were to me slavish timidity from selfish motives, a mean treachery to my conviction, an impious rebellion against truth, a facrilegious indifference to every thing venerable, dear, and facred; to every thing praiseworthy, and of good report. That awful declaration of our Lord is ever present in these conjunctures to my mind. Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, int his adulterous and finful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory L 2 Finally

of his Father with the holy angels: (Mark, viii. 38.)

Civis erat, qui libera posset

This species of plain-dealing, this application of sharp rebuke, recommended in cases of extreme malignancy by the spirited apostle, (Tit. i. 13.) is unpalatable and exceptionable to those alone, whose insipidity of nature leads them to prefer disease with indolence to remedy with exertion; who mistake earnestness for passion; who are influenced by selfish confiderations of fame or interest; who are afraid of drawing the attention of an opponent, or the public, to a free discussion of their own characters. No supposeable case of iniquity can be less ambiguous, than that upon which I have ventured to decide. You know, Sir! who vented their indignation without restraint against the Scribes, the Lawyers, and the Pharisees; who, again and again, without a poffibility of affurance beyond the demonstration of open facts, pronounced that depraved generation, VIPERS, FOOLS, and HYPOCRITES.

Finally, Sir! be perfuaded by me,

fas est et ab hoste doceri,—

though indeed no enemy, to commence, and this inftantly, a ferious, resolute, and laborious fcrutiny into that religious creed, which you have imbibed from your nurse and grandmother: (2 Tim. i. 5.) Take my word for it, fome material articles of your faith are nothing better than a profane and old-wives' fable: (I Tim. iv. 7.) Sweet and bitter water (James, iii. 11.) cannot bubble at the same time from the same spring. Apostasy, falshood, treachery, venality, rapacity, corruption, perfecution, cruelty, military despotism, the destruction of human happiness, a boundless lust of devastation, the deliberate murder of many myriads, and, amidst oceans of blood, an infatiable thirst for more; - all these things must be laudable in themselves, and pleasing in the fight of God, or your religion, which fuffers you to be an accomplice and abettor of these crimes, must be a scheme of impiety and lyes, entitled only to universal execration, and ripe for vengeance. Confider of it; take advice; and speak your mind: (Judges, xix. 30.)

BVAHIL

With

With the fincerest desire for your speedy conversion to a sounder Christianity, for an unseigned repentance, and effectual amendment, I subscribe myself, Sir!

Your hearty well-wisher,

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the many professional and the miss that from the many profession of the many profession and the many and the continuence of the many of th

(be wit people) them stee steep has

GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

Hackney, June 12th, law world be senion seried

SHIM

I HAVE taken advantage of a vacant page to annex a character of Mr. Pitt from a late speech of Major Cartwright to the inhabitants of Boston: nor do I recollect ever to have seen a finer specimen of vigorous and simple eloquence, than this effusion of that invaluable patriot.

"Of this same Mr. Pitt I must take a little more notice. He formerly told you what I now tell you. He told you, it was not fafe to trust implicitly in any Minister, or any man; but in your Constitution, and in your own Rights. In my own hearing, he has eloquently mourned over the decay and corruption in the representative part of our Government, and pathetically described the thoufand evils flowing from that fource; quoting his illustrious Father, and other grave and wife Statesmen, as agreeing with him in a belief, that, without a Reform in that particular, there was for this Nation no falvation. To him. perhaps, it was referved, both to give, and to fulfil, a dreadful prophecy! With this quondam Reformer, whom I was then disposed to hail as a political Messiah, as the destined Saviour

Saviour of his Country, it was once in particular my fortune to dip in the fame dish, and to drink of the same cup, as an humble disciple: - and to join him in a solemn declaration to the Public, that, 'without a Parliamentary Reformation, neither the Liberties of the Nation can be preserved, nor the permanence of a wife and virtuous Administration fecured.' What, then, must be my feelings, when I have lived to see this man a Judasthe basest of all apostates-felling his Country to the very Faction, whose corruptions he had exposed, for the proud station of Prime Minister; - building the permanency of his own wicked Administration on doubly fortifying that F Elicn in the strong-holds of power; and, in cold blood, and by false accusations, attempting to take away the lives of men, whose steady fidelity to the People, and whose perfeverance in the cause of Reform, was so great a contrast and reproach to his own treachery!"

Sirlour

perhaps, it was relarved, both to give, and so first, a dreadful prophoey! With the file auch.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

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